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JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

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[Title page]

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THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN HUNTERS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Pa T 131 The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Nos. 1D, 1E, 1F;* map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right;* pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches Pa T 133 about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Pa T 132 Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.6° in January, the warmest month; at Choele-Choel, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 45.1° and 75.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 35.2° and 58.6° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery violent winds from the west and southwest.

Pa T 137 The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right,* and *bottom, left;* pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left* and *right*), constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details Pa T on environment, cf.: Jones, 1930; James, 1942.)

136 Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe:* Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

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p. 257) and the rhea (*Rhea americana* in the north, *R. darwinii* in the south) (pl. 1). Guanaco more commonly go in small herds consisting of an adult male and 4 to 10 females; sometimes, in small herds of young males; less commonly, in larger herds up to about 100 head, or in ones or twos. Communal hunting was consequently more usual; hunting singly, less so.

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN TRIBES

Notwithstanding the notorious complexities and obscurities of Patagonian and Pampean tribal nomenclature and distribution, certain simple broad facts stand out quite clearly, as amply established by the evidence. Since the early 18th century, at least three distinct linguistic families have been determined for the area: *Araucanian*, *Puelchean*, and *Tehuelchean* (*Chon*). The peoples speaking these languages have been quite consistently described as respectively short-statured, fairly tall, and very tall—characterizations borne out by more exact measurements, particularly of the first and third. The cultures, too, of the three peoples can, in spite of much mutual borrowing and much underlying similarity, be readily distinguished—the *Araucanian* versus the *Tehuelche* very clearly, the *Puelche* versus the *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* less clearly. Taking this well-established broad triple division as a starting point, we can approach more closely the Patagonian-Pampean confusion with less fear of leaving it at the end more confounded that it was; at the worst we can fall back to our starting point.

The Araucanians.—Slight infiltrations of *Araucanian* blood and culture across and down the Andes onto the eastern foothills and plains had taken place during the 17th century, and a little probably even in the 16th. But the major swarming of the *Araucanians* out over Neuquén and the Pampa got under real headway only in the early years of the 18th. The early piñon-eating "*Puelche*" or "*Pehuenche*" of the high cordilleran valleys, who are from time to time mentioned in the Chilean documents of the 16th and 17th centuries, may have been non-*Araucanian* in speech, but there is an even chance that they or a section of them were *Araucanian*-speaking. At any rate, from at least the time of Pietas (1646, p. 499), they were clearly *Araucanian* in speech, and from at least the beginning of the 19th century, they, or the peoples who then lived near where the early *Pehuenche* had lived, were thoroughly *Araucanian* in culture. (Cf. De la Cruz, 1835; Poeppig, 1835–36.)

In view of the foregoing facts, the Argentine *Araucanians* and the early "*Pehuenche-Puelche*" of the cordilleran Araucaria forest will be described in volume 2 of the Handbook, under *Araucanians*, and will be given no further direct treatment in the present article.

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The Tehuelche.—The name (etymology uncertain) was first used by the Jesuit missionaries of the middle 18th century, has many variants, and has at times been applied to tribes (cf. infra under *Puelche*) other than the one known to modern anthropology as the *Tehuelche*. 101

The chief variants of "*Tehuelche*" are: *Tuelche* (Camaño, 1937, p. 114); *Toelchí* (Cardiel, 1930, p. 247); *Toelche* (Cardiel, 1938, p. 141); *Tewelche* (Milanesio, 1898, p. 38); *Thekuelche* (Beauvoir, 1915 p. 183); *Theguel-che* (Berg, 1875, p. 371); *Teguelche* (Piedra, 1837, p. 77); *Tehuelci* (Borgatello, 1924, p. 12, Italian e); *Tucheiche* (Milanesio, 1898, p. 38); *Toelchá* (Cardiel, 1930, p. 252, Strobel, 1922, pp. 74–75); *Tuelchs* (Camaño, 1937, p. 114); *Thuelchs* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 29; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 1:131); *Tehuelhet* (Falkner, 1774, p. 102); *Tehuelcto* (Villarino, 1837, p. 88); *Chehuelchu, Cheuelché* (Muñiz, 1917, pp. 203, 212); *Tehdouelche* (Guinnard, 1864, p. 63); *Chequelcho* (Lista, 1879 a, p. 75; 1879 b, p. 73); *Tehúlliche* (Hale, 1846, p. 651).

The designation *Patagoni*, first given to the *Tehuelche* by Magellan in 1520 (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60), appears frequently in the later sources.

The *Tehuelche* called themselves *Choonik* (Gardiner, 1852, p. 23); *Tchonek* (Musters, 1872, p. 194); *Choonke* (Lista, 1879 b, p. 73); *Tonic* or *Tsonik* (Claraz, 1896, pp. 524–525); *Chonqui* (Cordovez, 1905, p. 32—so called by Chileans). The name is derived from the *Tehuelche* word, *tsonik* ("people," Claraz, 1896, p. 525), *tsonke* ("people," Ameghino, C., 1913, p. 260), *choonke* ("indio," Lista, 1879 a, p. 81), *chonk* ("hombre," Beauvoir, 1915, p. 184), *šchónik* ("hombre," Lehmann-Nitsché, 1913, p. 260). *Tsoneca* (Schmid, 1912; Musters, 1871, p. 183) *tsoneka* (Moreno, 1879, p. 376), *tzoneka* (Lista, 1879 b, p. 75), occur as the name for the *Tehuelche* language.

The *Tehuelche*, especially the southern ones, also called themselves *Ahonicunke* (Musters, 1872, p. 194); *Ahonnekenke, Ahonekenke* (Moreno, 1879, pp. 226, 376), *Aónikon, Aónik(e)nk(e)n* (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226), *Aónükün'k, Aónike-tshonk* (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 219); *Aónikenke* (Beauvoir, 1915, p. 183), *Aóeni Künk* or *Kenk* (Harrington, 1943, p. 3). *Haweaneki, Hawaneki* (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 22, 24), *Haveniken* (Virchow, 1879, p. 199), *Hauaniker-Tsonik* (Claraz, 1896, p. 525) appear to be variants of the preceding. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:95) has *Inaken* for the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. *Tehuelche nuken*="hombre," Outes, 1913 a, pp. 488–489; *nooken*="hombre," Ameghino, C., 1913, p. 260).

The southern *Tehuelche* called the northern *Tehuelche Payni-ken* (Gardiner, 1852, p. 22); *Paignk(e)nk(e)n* (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226), *Pä'änkün'k, Pä'änkotshonk* (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 219).

To denote the whole tribe, including both its northern and its southern division, we are using in the present article the term *Tehuelche*, since this term or some variant thereof has been more commonly accepted for the last two centuries.

Since the middle of the 18th century, two main divisions of the *Tehuelche*, each with its own dialect, have been recognized. To the Jesuit missionaries of the time these divisions were known as the *Tehuelche* "de á cavallo," or northern division, who had horses and who lived in the Río Negro Colorado and Río Negro country, and the *Tehuelche* "de á pie," or southern division, who lacked horses and who occupied the region south of the horse *Tehuelche* as far as the Strait of Magellan. These southerners were included by Falkner in his *Yacana-cunnees* ("foot people": Falkner, 1774, p. 111; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, pp. 229–230; cf. Cooper, 1917, p. 86).

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101 A similar division into northerners and southerners is recorded consistently in our 19th century sources (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 95; Cox, 1863, p. 165; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Lista, 1879 a, p. 75, 1879 b, p. 74; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226). According to Lehmann-Nitsche (1913, p. 219), the northern and southern *Tehuelche* were called by the southerners *Pĕ'ănkĕn'k* and *Aónĕkŭn'k* respectively.

In the 18th century the two divisions spoke dialects differing so widely that members of one division could only with difficulty, if at all, understand those of the other (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30; Hervás, 1800–05, 1: 134). According to our more recent sources from Cox on, dialectic differentiation, though appreciable, was less marked. There was also a third dialect, *Tĕ'ŭĕshn* (*Téuesh, Téhuesh, Téhueshen, Téuesson, Téhueshenk, The-ushene, De-ushene*). This dialect, according to Outes, was spoken long ago, and in 1905 was still spoken by some of the oldest *Tehuelche* in addition to the usual *Tehuelche* language (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 249; cf. Hunziker and Schmid, *in* Outes, 1928 a, pp. 273–274). In 1891 the *Tĕ'ŭĕshn* dialect was still spoken by older men, but was not understood by the younger *Tehuelche*-speaking generation (Burmeister, C., 1891, p. 280). *Tehuelche* with its dialects constitutes, together with *Ona* and its own dialects, the independent *Chon* linguistic family.

Since the middle of the 18th century, the northern boundary of the *Tehuelche* has pretty consistently been put at or around the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30; Cardiel, 1938, pp. 141–142; Hervás, 1800–05, 1: 134; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 79; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 95; 212, north to 40° S. lat.; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226; Outes, 1905, p. 241; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 230). To be more exact, the territory of the *Tehuelche* in historic times appears to have extended over the whole of Patagonia from the Río Negro and its affluent, the Río Limay, to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the continent. In the middle 18th century, the *Tehuelche* may have extended on the Atlantic side, at least as casual occupants, a little farther north than the Río Negro, to the Río Colorado, to judge from the reports of Cardiel (1930, p. 272) and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 30). In the second half of the 19th century, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples extended down the Andean piedmont some distance south of Lake Nahuel-Huapí and the Río Limay. (Musters, 1871, map; 1872, p. 195; cf. Cox, 1863, pp. 94, 164, and La Vaulx, 1901, map and passim.)

The dividing line between the horse and foot *Tehuelche* on the Atlantic side in the middle 19th century was about 100 leagues south and west of the Río Negro (Cardiel, 1922, p. 63). The dividing line between the great northern and southern hordes in the second half of the 19th century was the Río Chubut according to Cox (1863, p. 165) and Lista (1879 a, p. 75; cf. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 230), the Río Santa Cruz according to Musters (1872, p. 194; cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226).

161 **Tehuelche population.**—Population data on the *Tehuelche* are very unsatisfactory. As regards particular groups of the *Tehuelche*, Barne (1836, 5: 21) estimated at 1,400 the number of Indians at Port San Julian in 1753; Bourne (1853, p. 59), at about 1,000 the band with whom he traveled in 1849. As regards the whole *Tehuelche* tribe, the estimates in our records are the following: Viedma (1837 b, p. 79), 4,000 souls, in 1780–83; Muñiz (1917, p. 213), less than 4,000 able to bear arms, in circa 1826; D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97; 4: 192), 8,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1829; Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), four groups of about 400 adults each, with a rather large proportion of children, and with women outnumbering men three to one, in 1833; Coan (1850, p. 171), about 1,000 souls, in 1833–34; Gardiner (1852, p. 22), 9,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1842; Cox (1863, p. 166), about 6,000 souls, in

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1862–63; Musters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 204), not over 1,500 souls, about 1,400, in 1869–70; Berg (1875, p. 371), 200 [2,000–?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878–79; Roncagli (1884, p. 768), 300 [warriors–?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 159), perhaps about 500 souls, in 1894, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896–99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,300 to 1,500 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Muñiz, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts. 161

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiber (1920, p. 115) as of 1913–14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 15 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 50 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1943).

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In 1829 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1800–12, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 133–136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiber (1920, p. 118) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913–14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and marmalade, had been largely responsible. 161 164 [262]

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Caucahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*. O A T

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnees* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91–93, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195–196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827–28 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833–34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 21–24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1895, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 235, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries. 177

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Moreno (1879, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche*; Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 156, 265–266), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaicurú* mentioned by Cox (1863, p. 165) 9 177

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may also have been *Alacaluf;* the *Guaïcaro* vocabulary gathered by Lista (1896, p. 41) from a *Guaïcaro* medicine man living among the *Tehuelche* is *Alacalufan.*

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Caucahue.—In the early Chilean chronicles from 1641 on, the tribal denomination *Caucahue* (*Caucau*, and other variants) occurs sporadically, as applied in the most confusing manner, sometimes to short or medium-statured Indians of the western coast archipelago, at other times to "gigantic" Indians of the mainland. (Cf. details in Cooper, 1917, passim.) Our most detailed account of the latter tall type is that of Pietas (1846, pp. 503–504). He described the *Caucahue*, one of whom he had seen, as "gigantic" in stature, living south of the *Chono*, between the Cordillera and the Golfo de los Evangelistas, and speaking a language unknown to any one in Chiloé. It is quite possible that these tall "*Caucahue*" were *Tehuelche*, but by no means certain. They were very expert in the use of a heavy throwing club. (Cf. also Morrell, 1832, pp. 100–101, on "*Caucau*" met by him in the Guaianeco Islands in 1923.)

Huilliche Serrano.—It is quite possible, too, that the *Huilliche Serrano* of the Chilean chroniclers were *Tehuelche*, or perhaps *Puelche*, to judge from their tall stature as compared with that of the *Araucanians* and from their geographical location. (Cf. original data assembled from sources by Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 218–220.) But our information upon the *Huilliche Serrano*, as upon the tall *Caucahue*, is too meager to justify any but the most tentative surmises as to their ethnic relationships.

Poya.—As regards the *Poya* (*Powya*, *Pogya*) we are a little better off. (Cf. original source data assembled in: Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 220–222; more fully, *Vignati*, 1939 a; Fonck *in* Menendez, 1900, passim, and esp. p. 319, on "*Puelche*"=probably *Poya*.) They should not be confused with the *Araucanian*-speaking *Poyo* or *Payo*. (Cf. Cardiel, 1938, p. 141; E. Simpson, 1875, p. 104.) The *Poya* were described by three of our four chief sources as big bodied. They spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue. They lived in the general region of Lake Nahuel-Huapí, to the south or southeast thereof. Cardiel (1938, p. 141) seems to class the *Poya* as a branch of the foot *Tehuelche*. The *Poya* made an intoxicating beverage from a wild fruit called by them muchi (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Menendez, 1900, p. 412); muchi is the *Tehuelche* name of the fruit of the *Duvaua dependens*, called huingan by the *Araucanians*, and eaten by the *Tehuelche* (Cox, 1863, p. 211). Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) has called attention to the custom of septum perforation, certainly unusual in these parts, attributed independently to the *Poya* by Florez de León (1898, p. 256) and to the early *Tehuelche* by Fletcher (Drake expedition, 1578: see Fletcher, 1854, p. 50). The

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identification by Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) of the *Poya* supernatural being, *Checheuelli* (*Chahuelli:* Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519) with the *Tehuelche* being called *Cheleule* (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78; Outes, 1928, b, p. 380) appears less convincing.

All in all, there seems to be fairly good evidence, although far from decisive, that the *Poya* were *Tehuelche*. In view, however, of certain cultural peculiarities of the *Poya*, as well as of their still somewhat uncertain linguistic affiliation, we shall devote a special short section to them in our treatment of Patagonian-Pampean culture.

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The Puelche.—The name by which the *Puelche* call themselves is *Genakin* (Hunziker, 1928 b, p. 277, "*Genacin*," *c=k*), from *geni*, "gente, pueblo, nacion" + − *kin* (?). Variants are: *Gennacken* (Moreno, 1879, p. 220), *Gennaken*, *Genakenn*, *Gūnūna Kūne*, *Gūnūna Kūne* (Harrington, 1933–35, 1943). In the present article we are using for the *Genakin* the name *Puelche*, as the one best known and longest established in anthropological literature.

The name *Puelche* (*Pueicho*, and other variants) is from *Araucanian* ("eastern people"). It was first used in our sources by the Chilean chroniclers to denote various groups living in or near the higher cordillera or on the plains to the east—the people later known as *Pehuenche* (the piñon-eaters of the high cordilleran valleys), or the plains people in general east of the Chilean Cordillera, or sections thereof. Later it was much used by Chilean *Araucanians* and Whites for the *Araucanians* who spread out over the Pampa. In these senses the name usually either excluded the people known to modern anthropology as the *Puelche* or else included other peoples as well. It was from the beginning a geographical rather than a strictly tribal name, and remained so down to recent times. Hence the unending confusion in its use.

In the middle 18th century, *Puelche* began to be used by the Jesuit missionaries (cf. Lozano, 1924, p. 297; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 28–30) for one of the main ethnic groups of the Pampa, south and southwest of Buenos Aires, particularly those Indians living around the Sierra del Tandil and the Sierra de la Ventana, the Río Colorado, and beyond to the Río Negro and toward the Andean Cordillera.

These same *Puelche* were also known to the Spanish of Buenos Aires as *Serrano* or *Montañeses*, on account of their mountain habitat and meeting place (Lozano, 1924, p. 297; Strobel, 1924, p. 442; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–31; Cardiel, 1922, p. 62, and 1930, pp. 245–247). *Serrano* (Querini, 1922, p. 64), and likewise were called *Peguenche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 30—a possible misprint or author's slip). Camaño (1937, p. 114) used the name *Puelche* for the *Araucanian*-speaking peoples of the Pampa; Falkner (1774, pp. 90–100), in a much wider and geographic sense, for all the eastern Pampa and Patagonia tribes, regardless of language—the *Taluhet*, *Diuihet*, *Chechehet*, and *Tehuelhet*—from Córdoba and Buenos Aires to the Strait of Magellan; Poeppig (1835–36, 1:464), for the *Patagon* east of the Andes from 37° S. lat. to the Strait.

Other names by which the non-*Araucanian*, non-*Tehuelchean* Indians of the Pampa have been known are *Pampa* and *Tehuelche of the North*. *Pampa* was so used by Donavidas (1903, p. 365), Lozano (1873–74, p. 431), Camaño (1937, p. 114), Cox (1863, p. 165), Musters (1871, pp. 70, 304), La Vaulx (1897–98, p. 94); and Milanesio (1898, p. 38)—by the last four at least, to denote the *Puelche*

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101 proper. *Pampa* was also used for the Indians adjoining the *Huarpe* and extending to the Atlantic coast (Ovalle, 1888, 12:177–179); for some of those in the vicinity of Buenos Aires (Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942, p. 608; Querini, 1922, p. 64; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 29); and in a broader sense, to include all Pampa-dwelling tribes, regardless of language, by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 29) and Dobrizhoffer (1822, 1:130), both of whom consider the name a geographic one, not an ethnic one. The name *Tehuelche of the North* was used for *Puelche* by Cox (1863, p. 165).

101 There are still other complications (cf., e. g., Lehmann-Nitsche, 1923 a, p. 26), but the foregoing are the main ones. Lehmann-Nitsche (1923 a) endeavored to
197 interpret and identify the units in Falkner's elaborate system of tribal subdivision and nomenclature, but most of the system defies exact analysis, even if Lehmann-Nitsche's *Het* language be accepted as proven. Falkner was certainly mistaken as regards some units of his system; but separating all fact from all error in it is a well-nigh hopeless task, at least in the present state of our knowledge. The Falkner problem, like a good many others connected with Pampean linguistics, culture, and nomenclature, will be solved, if ever, only by intensive field work in the culture and linguistics of surviving Indians in southern Argentina, with perhaps a little help from still hidden and unpublished archival material.

197 About the same may be said of the *Het* family which Lehmann-Nitsche (1923 a) believed he had isolated, as a fourth linguistic family spoken on the Pampa in the 18th century, in addition to *Araucanian*, *Tehuelchean* (*Chon*), and *Puelchean*. With great skill and originality, he drew upon both the literature, especially Falkner, and upon his own linguistic field work, to support his thesis, and was able to present a very respectable amount of evidence for it. Falkner's use of the nomenclatural ending *het*, as meaning "people," is certainly suggestive of the existence in his time on the Pampa of a language that was neither *Araucanian* nor *Tehuelchean* nor *Puelchean*. Nor could Lehmann-Nitsche identify from field studies or the sources a certain number of words in Falkner as belonging to any one of these three tongues; and so concluded, if the present writer interprets his procedure correctly, that they belonged to the *Het* family.

But on the other hand, it seems strange that if there had been such a fourth family language in use at the time, nothing explicit should have been written about it in the numerous extant letters and reports of the missionaries who had direct personal contact with the Indians of the area or who had been in close touch with others who had had such contact. Camaño, whom Füriong (1938 a, p. 37) calls "el más notable lingüista" among the Jesuits of the Río de La Plata region, makes no reference to such a fourth family, nor does Sánchez Labrador; nor does Hervás, who drew upon the knowledge of Jesuit missionaries acquainted with the region and with its peoples. On the contrary, they imply that there were three and only three family languages spoken in the area of the Pampa south and southwest of Buenos Aires down through Patagonia to the Strait. Then, too, the data from Falkner, arresting though they may be, are nevertheless rather meager, where there is question of positing a whole new linguistic family. And Falkner's work, in other respects, is open to much justified criticism on the score of looseness.

Querini (1922, pp. 64–65) recorded that the *Pampa* of the missionary foundation of the Reducción de la Concepción, established in 1740 near the mouth of the Río Salado about 100 miles southeast of Buenos Aires, and the *Serrano* of the Reducción de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, established in 1747 farther south near the present Mar del Plata, had each their own language. This might suggest two

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non-*Araucanian*, non-*Tehuelchean* languages spoken in the region south of Buenos Aires. But Strobel, who had some practical knowledge of the languages concerned (Fürlong C., 1936 a, pp. 88, 90, 96), stated (1924 (1740), p. 443): "... the language of the Serranos . . . differs from that of the Pampas, as German does from Flemish." He also had remarked just previously that the *Serrano* "are kin of our Pampas Indians, since ties of blood bind them together." Strobel's testimony suggests the interesting possibility—it cannot be called more—that the *Het* tongue, if it existed at all as a separate linguistic entity, may have been one of the two related languages referred to by Querini and Strobel.

All in all, as the evidence stands at present, it would seem wiser to reserve judgment on the question of the *Het* family. We can only express the hope that the urgently needed field studies may still be made to clear up this as well as other pending problems of Pampean and Patagonian anthropology.

Field work cannot help, but possibly existing archival material might help, in clearing up another problem of the area, namely, the relation of the *Puelche* to the *Querandí*. We may best approach this problem by starting with the better known and working toward the less well known.

Our first definitive linguistic identification of the *Puelche* comes from the short vocabulary thereof gathered and published by D'Orbigny. At the time of his 8-month stay in the lower Río Negro region in 1829, the *Puelche*, according to him, had their habitat between the Río Negro and the Río Colorado, between 39° and 41° S. lat., where they had resided "for more than a hundred years previously," but especially on the banks of the Río Colorado (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:221). This would place them in the area as far back as the first half of the 18th century. According to the Jesuit missionaries (cf. supra), in the middle 18th century this area was inhabited chiefly by non-*Araucanian* non-*Tehuelchean* "*Serrano*" or "*Montañeses*," known also at the time as "*Puelche*." The identity of both habitat and name establishes a fair probability, at least, that the mid-18th century "*Serrano*" were *Puelche*, that is, *Gennaken* proper.

Further, according to the previously cited explicit testimony of Strobel, who from his first-hand contact with the peoples concerned and from his knowledge of their languages was certainly in a good position to know what he was talking about, the "*Serrano*" tongue was of the same linguistic family as that of the "*Pampas*" of Buenos Aires, that is, of the Indians living north of the *Serrano* and nearer to Buenos Aires. These "*Pampas*" would therefore have been *Puelche*-speaking.

Pu

Finally, there are some fairly good reasons for thinking that these "*Pampas*" of Buenos Aires and vicinity were no other than the Indians earlier known as *Querandí*. 101

As far back as the middle 18th century the "*Pampas*" of the Buenos Aires region were explicitly identified by Lozano (1836, p. 236), with the *Querandí*:

"The nation of the Pampas was called at the time of the Conquest Querandíes, and dominated all the region that Buenos Aires now occupies, extending their power toward the south and the west."

(Cf. also: Lozano [ca. 1745] 1873–74, p. 431; Hervás, 1800–05, 1:131.) This explicit report is corroborated by the less explicit statement of his contemporaries and confrères, Querini and Camaño. According to Querini (1932, p. 64), who with Strobel founded the Reducción de la Concepción among the "*Pampas*" in 1740, these Indians were "nomadic people who from the first entrance of the Spaniards upon the conquest of these provinces gave them [the Spaniards] much trouble." According to Camaño (1937, p. 114): "The Pampas have always been

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known in Buenos Aires, and in Córdoba; they traded with the Spaniards; they worked as hired laborers on the Spaniards' country estates."

In how far may we accept these statements as they stand? On the one hand, Lozano was, many years later, taken sharply to task by Camaño (1937, p. 114) for certain grave misconceptions regarding the ethnic relations of some of the Indians around Buenos Aires. On the other hand, as regards the point under discussion, Camaño is in agreement, as far as he goes, with Lozano. Then, too, Lozano, as official historian of the Jesuit missionary province of Paraguay, including the Pampa, had at his command a wealth of archival material. Further, Lozano, Querini, and Camaño were all in personal touch with their missionary confrères as well as with the colonists of the area. Lozano and Querini had come from Europe to Buenos Aires and Córdoba as early as 1717. Lozano was at Córdoba from 1717 to 1723 or 1724, and at Santa Fé until the end of 1727. Querini was at Córdoba for some years from 1717 on and was then transferred to Buenos Aires, where we find him in 1729 (Furlong C., 1930, pp. 8–24; 1938, pp. 87–88). In the encomienda list of the jurisdiction of Santa Fé, drawn up at Buenos Aires in 1678 by Gayoso (1897, pp. 176, 178–179), a number of the Santa Fé encomienda Indians of the time were designated as *Querandí*. At least some of these *Querandí* must have survived some years, until toward the end of the century or beyond—within a couple of decades of the 1710's and 1720's. Lozano and Querini, therefore, were reporting, not a nebulous tradition harking from the remote past and about a distant people, but one concerning an Indian group in close contact with the colonists, as is clear from Camaño's statement, and well known to and personally remembered by colonists still living in Lozano's and Querini's day.

Then, too, the territory earlier ascribed to the *Querandí* was about the same as that occupied in the middle 18th century by the "*Pampa*." (Cf. for *Querandí* Ruí Díaz de Guzmán, 1835–37, pp. 10–11; reprint in full of source material in Lothrop, 1932, pp. 197, 201–204, 213; detailed discussion of habitat by Canals Frau, 1941; for "*Pampa*," sources cited infra.) The *Querándí* were described by the early writers as a numerous people: Schmidel (1567, 2 verso, cf. 3 recto) reported a population of about 3,000, not including women and children, in 1535 around what was later the site of Buenos Aires. There is evidence of wars and pestilences in the area, but of none so severe as to lead to total extinction; in fact, *Querandí* certainly survived until 1678, as previously noted, and no doubt until at least near the end of the 17th century. They were driven from the gates of Buenos Aires in 1580, but in the 17th and far into the late 18th century there was abundant food on the Pampa in the form of feral horses and cattle as well as of wild game. The culture attributed to the *Querandí* agrees in practically all diagnostic respects with that of the later "*Pampa*" of Buenos Aires. The *Querandí* were described as taller than the Germans but not so tall as the *Tehuelche*, a description which, so far as it goes, tallies with that given in 1772 by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 31) of the "*Pampa*." Archeologically, there is indication in the *Querandí-Pampa* region of only minor cultural differences. (Cf. Archeology of the Pampa, present volume.) And the disappearance of the name *Querandí* from contemporary literature, after the last part of the 17th century has no particular importance for our problem. The name was one derived from *Guaraní* (Outes, 1897, p. 27), not one the *Querandí* called themselves; while, according to Vásquez de Espinosa (1942, p. 693), writing in 1628 or 1629, the bolas-using Indians some 16 leagues from Buenos Aires—from the location, more probably *Querandí*—were those early called *Pampa*. (Cf. also Canals Frau, 1940–42, pp. 37–38, on "que" in caciques' names in Garay's repartimiento of 1582 as possibly equivalent to *Puelche* "ken.")

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In the foregoing chain of evidence—*Puelche*=*Serrano*=*Pampa*=*Querandí*—the second link is the strongest, the first and third less strong. While a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, the evidence does appear to give some fairly good ground for the identification of the *Querandí* as *Puelche*-speaking. But in any case, there is no positive scientific ground whatever, as our evidence stands at present, for assuming that *Querandí* was a distinct linguistic family. 101

Puelche territory.—What territory and population we attribute to the *Puelche* prior to D'Orbigny's time, 1829, will depend largely upon the view we take of the *Het* and the *Querandí*-"*Pampa*-" "*Serrano*"-*Puelche* problems.

To his *Het*-speaking Indians of the Pampa of the mid-18th century, Lehmann-Nitsche, relying mostly on Falkner, ascribed chiefly the belt inland from and flanking the Atlantic coast from near the Río Negro to well north of the Río Colorado (1923 a, pp. 49, 60, map opp. p. 18).

In the early 17th century, the *Querandí* territory appears to have included roughly about what we know today as the Humid Pampa. (Cf. Ruí Díaz de Guzmán, 1835–37; Lothrop, 1932 b; and especially Canals Frau, 1941 b, previously cited.) The "*Pampa*" of Buenos Aires occupied the region south and west of the city and its adjacent hacienda belt in the 17th and mid-18th centuries (cf. sources cited supra). In the middle 18th century, the "*Serrano*" lived south and southwest of the "*Pampa*," around the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana, and extended down as far as the Río Negro and as far west as the foothills of the Andes (Cardiel, 1922, p. 63; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30; cf. Lozano, 1924, p. 296), with a chief center on the Río Neuquén or Río Limay west of their junction. (Cf. Cardiel's 1747 map in Fúrlong-Cuñes, 1940; Falkner, 1774, pp. 26, 80, and map.)

Our earliest definitive location of the *Puelche* is that given by D'Orbigny (cf. supra) for the year 1829, between the Río Negro and the Río Colorado, especially the latter region. Cox (1863, p. 165) located one band of *Puelche* at the mouth of the Río Negro; other *Puelche*, mixed with Argentine *Araucanians*, in the west from the Río Limay to the Río Chubut. Musters (1871, p. 70; 1872, p. 194) in 1869–70 found *Puelche* between the Ríos Negro and Chubut, while several clans were living on the plains north of the Negro; from these centers they raided up as far as the province of Santa Fé as well as to Córdoba and Mendoza. Moreno (1873, p. 445) found at the mouth of the Santa Cruz River a camp made up mostly of *Puelche*.

Thus a southerly drift of the *Puelche* occurred after the time of D'Orbigny, a continuation, if our provisional identification of the *Puelche* with the *Querandí* be correct, of an earlier southerly drift that probably began with the founding of Buenos Aires in 1580 and with the establishment of regular lines of land communication between Buenos Aires and Santa Fé, Córdoba, and Mendoza.

Puelche population.—Population statistics for the early *Puelche* are none too definite. The *Querandí* were consistently described as a numerous people—more than 8,000 adult males in 1535, if we can accept Schmidel's statement. By the middle of the 18th century, we get much lower numbers. Cardiel's *Serrano*, probably *Puelche*, numbered in all only 100 to 200 men able to bear arms (1922, p. 63), but it is not clear whether this number includes all the then existing *Puelche*. Lozano (1924, p. 296) calculated the number of "*Picunche*" in the provinces of Tucumán and Cuyo, some of whom were probably *Puelche*, at 70 families in all. Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 43) stated that the "*Pampa*" of 161

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Buenos Aires Province numbered about 400 families of an average of 5 persons each, while in the Córdoba and Tucumán districts there were only 50 families; but perhaps not all of these were *Puelche*.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:268, 4:12) estimated the population of the *Puelche* in 1829 at 500 or 600 souls. Musters (1872, p. 205) believed that the number of *Puelche* south of the Río Negro numbered "perhaps under six hundred." In 1915–16, 10 to 12 *Puelche* still survived in the lower Río Negro region (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924 a, p. 8). A few "*Pampa*," by which are apparently meant *Puelche*, were living around 1925, according to Fasulo (1925, pp. 111, 114, 141), in Neuquén and the western part of La Pampa Territory; and a few *Puelche*, at least 10, are still living in Chubut Territory (Harrington, 1942, p. 3).

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Recurrent epidemics of smallpox, in the early (Lozano, 1924, p. 296; Falkner, 1774, pp. 98–103), middle (Querini and Strobel, 1924, p. 444), and late (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:221) 18th century, largely accounted for the great reduction in *Puelche* population during the period. Lozano (ibid.) also mentions the part played by murders committed during drunken brawls; various writers, wars with Whites and Indians; D'Orbigny (ibid.), daily attacks by the Argentine *Araucanians*. No doubt there were other causes, but we lack specific information thereupon.

HISTORY OF INVESTIGATION

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The post-Magellanic history of the Patagonian and Pampean hunters may be divided into three main periods: an early one, 1520 to circa 1725, from first White contact to the *Araucanian* invasion and the acquisition of the horse; a later one, circa 1725 to 1883, the date of the closing of the military campaigns which finally broke the power of the Indians of the Pampa and drove many or most of the survivors south and southwest of the Río Negro; the recent one, 1883 to date, the era of decline. In the present paper we shall for convenience refer to the natives of these periods as the "early" (*Tehuelche*, *Puelche*, and so forth), the "later," and the "recent," respectively.

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Early period, 1520–ca. 1725.—First European contact with these southern hunters was that of Magellan (narratives of Pigafetta, Maximilianus Transylvanus, Albo, Herrera) in 1520 with the *Tehuelche* at Port San Julian on the Atlantic coast of Patagonia. During the following 150 years, eight other expeditions encountered the *Tehuelche:* 1526, Loaisa (narratives of Urdaneta, Oviedo); 1535, Alcazaba (Mori, Vehedor); 1558, Ladrillero; 1578, Drake (Cliffe, Cooke, John Drake, Famous Voyage, Fletcher, Nuño da Silva, World Encompassed); 1580, 1584, Sarmiento (Sarmiento, Hernández); 1586, Candish (Pretty); 1599, Noort; 1670, Narbrough, and Wood. Earliest contact with the *Querandí*, farther north, who may have been the ancestors of our modern *Puelche* (cf. supra), was Sebastian Cabot's (Ramírez, Cabot, Oviedo) in 1526. (See details, Lothrop, 1932, pp. 201–202.)

Meanwhile, the Spaniards in Chile were in sporadic touch from the 1540's on with the Pampean and Patagonian hunters nearer the Andes, whom they called "*Puelche*," "*Poya*," and "*Patagon*." Such

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contact was: Economic, through trade and encomienda labor (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469); military, through expeditions to and raids by "*Puelche*"; missionary, a little by Rosales (one or two visits between 1650 and 1653), more by Mascardi, 1670–73, and his successors, 1703–14, at Lake Nahuel-Huapí. (Cf. details and sources assembled by Fonck, 1900; Latcham, 1929–30; and Vignati, 1939 a.)

All these relationships, however, have netted us very meager anthropological information, and for the peoples of the heart of the Pampa region practically none.

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Later period, ca. 1725–1883.—The beginnings of this period in the first half of the 18th century were marked by three very significant events: the deployment of the *Araucanians* out over the Pampa, the acquisition of the horse by the Patagonian and Pampean tribes, and the founding of the Jesuit missions among them.

The deployment of the *Araucanians*, begun before the close of the 17th century, gathered great headway shortly after the opening of the 18th, and carried them almost to the gates of Buenos Aires. In the same period, owing apparently in large measure to *Araucanian* influence, the Patagonian and Pampean tribes, previously foot Indians, took to horsemanship, and also began to be profoundly influenced by general *Araucanian* culture.

As for the *Tehuelche*, after 1670, when seen as foot Indians by Narbrough and Wood at Port San Julian, there is a long gap of 71 years in our sources. When next seen, in December 1741, near the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan by Bulkeley and Cummins, they were riding horses. With the horse came many other new cultural traits (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409). The chief explorers (with dates of contact) to whom we owe first-hand data on the *Tehuelche* until the close of the period are:

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Eighteenth century: Morris, 1742–43; Cardiel and Quiroga, 1746 (Lozano, *in* de Angelis, 1836–37, vol. 1); Barne, 1753; Byron, 1764; Wallis, Carteret, 1766; Duclos-Guyot, 1766 (*in* Pernety, 1769, vol. 2; 660–662); Bougainville, 1766, 1767; Juan de la Piedra, 1779; Viedma, 1780–83; Vargas Ponce, 1785; Tafor, Pineda, Peña, 1789; Coleman, 1793 (†).

Nineteenth century: Muñiz, ca. 1826; D'Orbigny, 1829; Fitz-Roy, 1833; Coan, 1833; Wilkes, Hales, 1839; Gardiner, 1842; Bourne, 1849; Cox, 1862–63; Musters, 1869–70; Berg, 1874; Moreno, 1874, 1876–77; Beerbohm, 1877; Lista, 1878–80; Roncagli, 1882; Spegazzini, ca. 1884.

The list is long, but the data are relatively scant.

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The missions of the Jesuits to the peoples of the Pampa south of Buenos Aires, 1740 to 1753, gave us a considerable volume of anthropological information on the mixed *Puelche* and *Araucanian*-speaking peoples of the Pampa proper and, to a lesser extent, on the Patagonians. In the writings of Fathers Dobrizhoffer, Lozano,

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Cardiel, Quiroga, Strobel, Camaño, Rejón, García, Querini, and particularly Falkner and Sánchez Labrador, we get for the first time an insight into the cultural and linguistic lay of the Pampean area and into its relations with the Patagonian and *Araucanian*. (Most of cultural data are given in Sánchez Labrador, 1936; Falkner, 1774; Pennant, 1788; and Fúrlong Cárdiff, 1938 a).

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Some very valuable anthropological information also was contributed by the 19th-century Protestant missionaries: Coan, 1833–34; Gardiner, 1842, 1845; Schmid and Hunziker, 1859–63. (For details, cf.: Gardiner, 1852; Marsh and Stirling, 1874; Coan, 1880; Outes, 1926 b, 1928 c.)

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The period came to an end with the military campaigns under Generals Julia Roca and Conrado Villegas in 1879–83, which completely defeated and disorganized the Indian confederates, cleared the Pampa region almost entirely of its Indian inhabitants, and drove most of the survivors beyond the Río Negro and into Neuquén.

Recent period, 1883 to date.—Settlers, following the frontier, have taken up most of the country from the northern limit of the Pampa to the Strait of Magellan. The surviving Indians are found scattered here and there in small groups, mostly south of the Río Negro. The process of Europeanization has been in full swing; the native culture has largely been replaced. Relatively very little field work has been done among the survivors during the last 60 years. The Salesian missionaries, Fathers Milanesio (1898, 1917) and Borgatello (1924), have given us some new light direct from the toldos of the natives. A great deal of attention has been devoted by a corps of Argentine scholars—Canals Frau, Fúrlong C., Lehmann-Nitsche, Outes, Serrano, Vignati, and others—and by Fonck and Latcham of Chile, to critical surveys and interpretations of published and manuscript data, a work still in active progress.

Selected annotated lists of the more important of our very numerous first-hand sources on the culture of the *Tehuelche*, *Poya*, and *Puelche* will be given infra under Culture at the beginning of the sections on the culture of the respective three tribes.

There are few more urgent tasks facing anthropological science than thorough studies, as thorough as possible under the circumstances of native cultural disintegration, of the surviving *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, studies made directly in the field, from information that may probably still be gotten from older members of the fast-dwindling remnants of these once numerous and powerful tribes.

CULTURE

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Our cultural data are fullest and most clearly identified for the *Tehuelche*, whose culture will be treated first. Next will follow a

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short account of the *Poya*. Finally, we shall deal with the culture of the *Puelche*.

In the case of the *Puelche*, were we to confine ourselves to those data which are unmistakably and beyond all possibility of doubt attributable to people speaking the *Puelche* language, we should have to rely almost exclusively on D'Orbigny's extremely brief account. For reasons previously given, we seem to be on fairly safe ground in concluding that the *Puelche* of D'Orbigny's day were the linguistic descendants of Sánchez Labrador's "*Puelche*" ("*Pampa*," "*Serrano*") six or seven decades earlier. If not the linguistic descendants, they were almost certainly the cultural ones. We shall use, therefore, the data from Sánchez Labrador, where we can be sure he is speaking of cultural phenomena peculiar to his and our *Puelche* or shared by them with the contemporary *Tehuelche* and/or Argentine *Araucanians*.

For those who hold with Lehmann-Nitsche to the former existence of a *Het* family on the Pampa, what we shall describe as *Puelche* culture would connote, so far as the description rests on data from Sánchez Labrador, *Het* culture or *Het-Puelche* culture.

Less use can be made of Falkner than of Sánchez Labrador, as the former gives fewer details and discriminates less between *Araucanian*, *Tehuelche*, and *Puelche* cultural features.

TEHUELCHE CULTURE

On *Tehuelche* culture the very early sources prior to 1670 yield only the most meager information, and this almost exclusively regarding the more obvious elements of material culture. About the best of these early sources, such as they are, are Pigafetta (1906) and Fletcher (1854).

The most important later sources are Viedma (1837 b) and Musters (1871, 1872).

Next in importance to these last three publications may be listed: Borgatello (1924), Bourne (1853), Coan (1880), Moreno (1879), Muñiz (1917), and D'Orbigny (1835–47). Some good material is also found scattered through the works of: Cox (1863), Falkner (1774), Fitz-Roy (1839, dependent largely on Falkner), Gardiner (1852), Lista (1879 a, 1879 b), Pennant (1788, data derived from Falkner in England), Reiher (1920), Roncagli (1884), Sánchez Labrador (1936), and Spegazzini (1884). On the linguistic relations of the *Tehuelche*, Lehmann-Nitsche (1913) is basic, while Cardiel (1938) and Camaño (1937) were important pioneer contributors.

Where it is possible or advisable to distinguish between the culture of the foot *Tehuelche* before 1670 and that of the horse-using *Tehuelche* after 1741, in the following account of *Tehuelche* culture the terms "early" and "later" will be used respectively.

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of [545] method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them [276] chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

231 The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early [241] *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, 177 probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly [372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open [573] side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, 592 p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended 596 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did 621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

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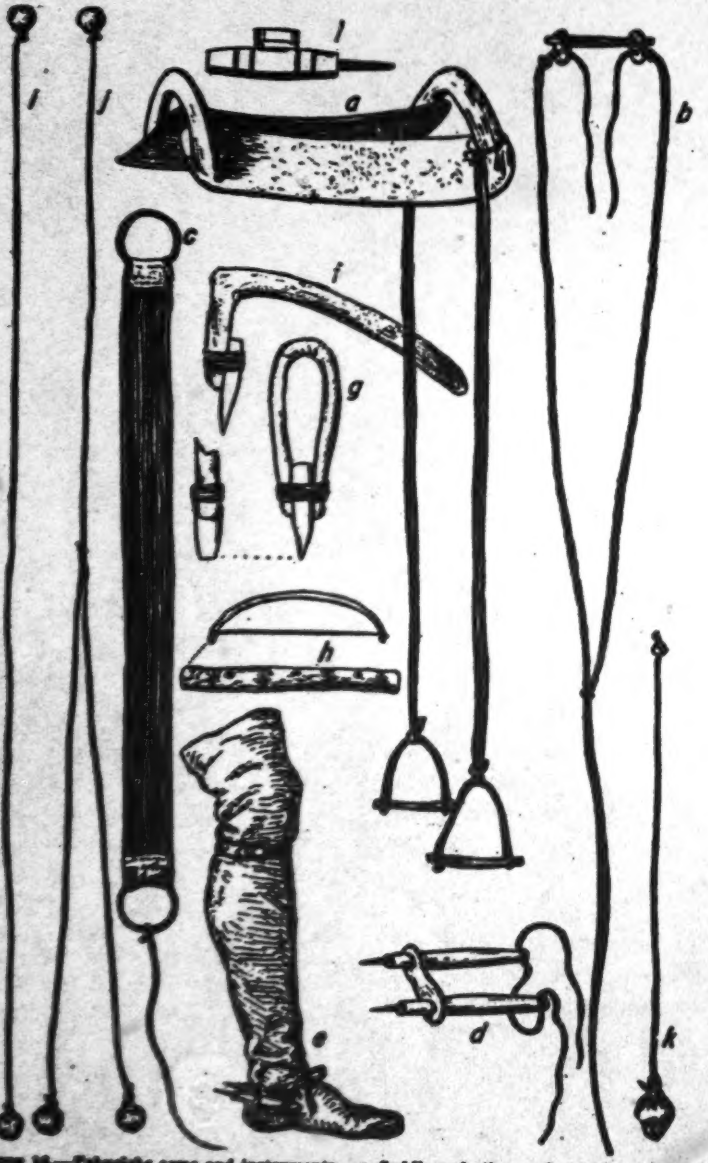

FIGURE 16.—Tehuelche arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, boots with spurs; f, ads; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; j, gaucho bolas; k, bola perdida; l, pipe. (After Musters, 1871, opposite p. 196.)

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304 **Ornaments.**—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, *in* Fletcher, 1854, p. 50; cf. *Poya* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche. 302 1924). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90–91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 122); facial and bodily depilation with shells. [304] Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, 381 p. 81). Personal adornments (pl. 39, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including topu type, earrings (often of *Araucanian* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or bull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133–134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 256–257).

492 With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 18, *a–d;* Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 68), wooden bits, and double-goad spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167–169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdouall, 1833, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780–83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we 285 have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193–194).

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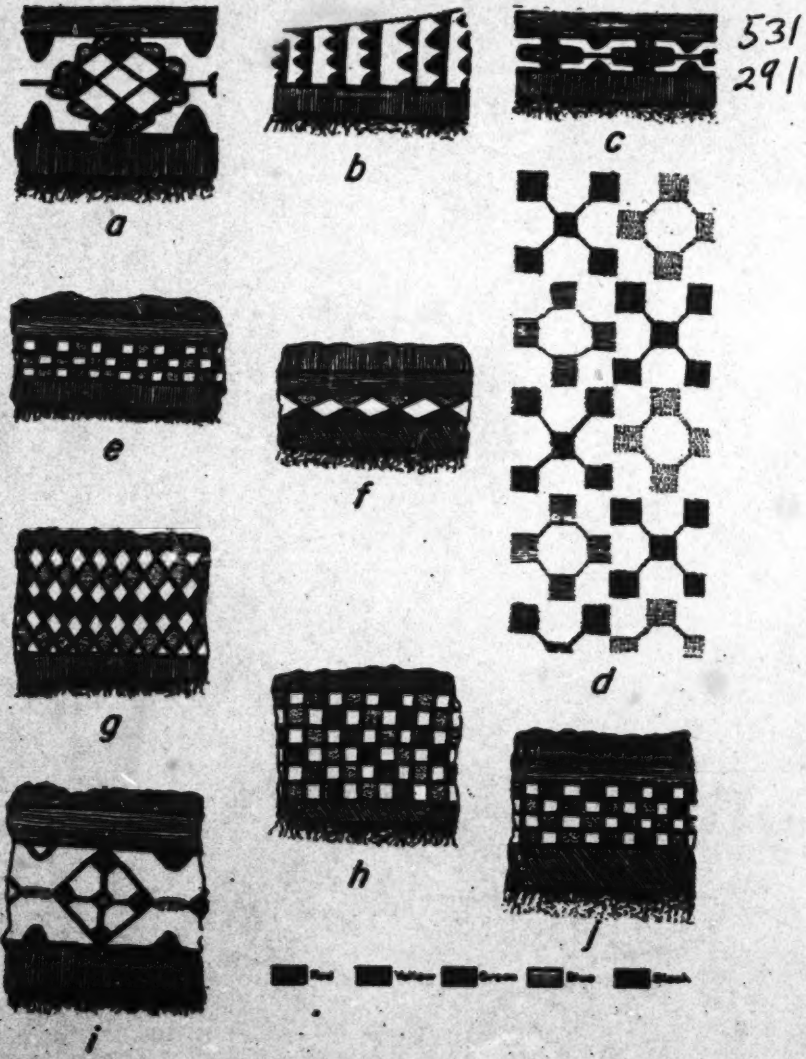

FIGURE 18.—Design from Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, centers; *e*, *f*, one-border patterns; *g*, *h*, corner patterns; *i*, *j*, three-border patterns. (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 8 and 9.)

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323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

Skin dressing.—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them 281 down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, [413] or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were [413] softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of [283] an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f;* cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 232) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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515 but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the
356 abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

114 Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

621 **The band.**—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

621 Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may
423 be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of
721 Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: *although that family does not thereby lose its right to the* [its] *territory* [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the tolderia which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A tolderia may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

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621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

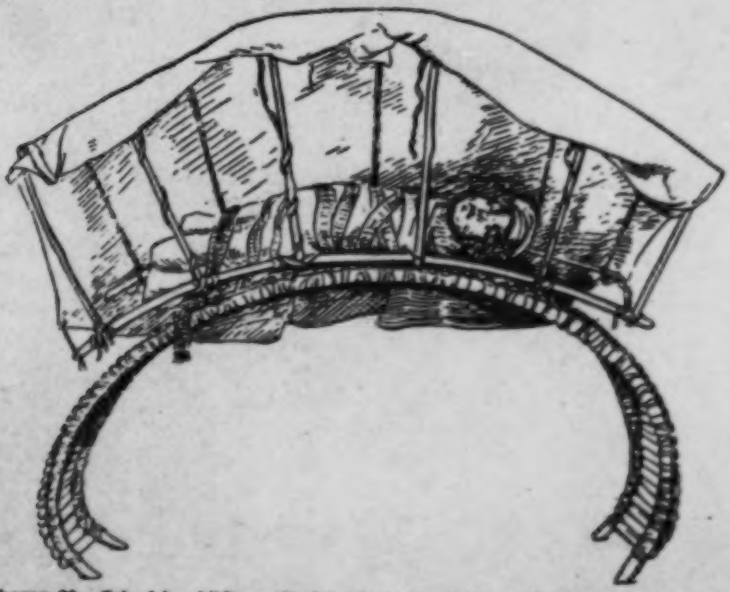

FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaulx, 1901, p. 189.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

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Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Elel bugaboo rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 1083) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klóksten; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 39, *bottom*). The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old women sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordoves (1906, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

Muñiz (1917, p. 905) reported two small huts, with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Elel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish),
525 and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1853, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22).

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soychu (*Talukst* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774. p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sañchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 358), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

LORE AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Dueosus dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Yahgan SH6

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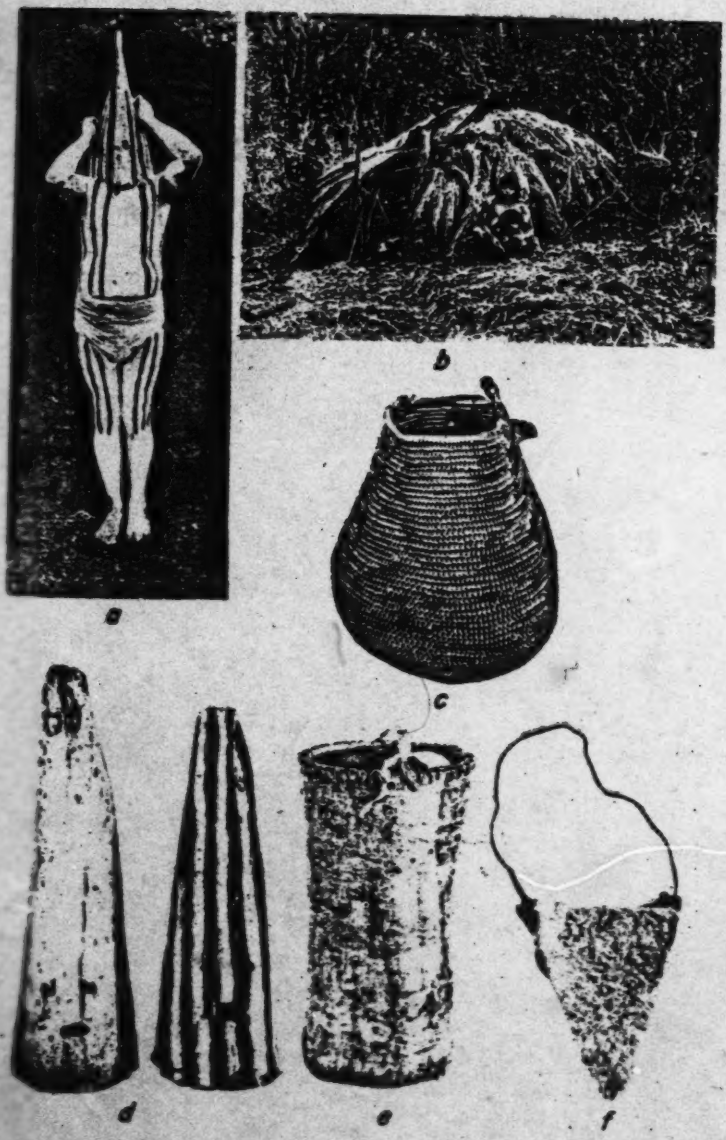

PLATE 32.—Yahgan life and manufactures. a, Masked Kina spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 4); b, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 20); c, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); d, bark masks used in Kina rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); e, bark basket, height 13½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 55); f, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

[p. 160 AJ

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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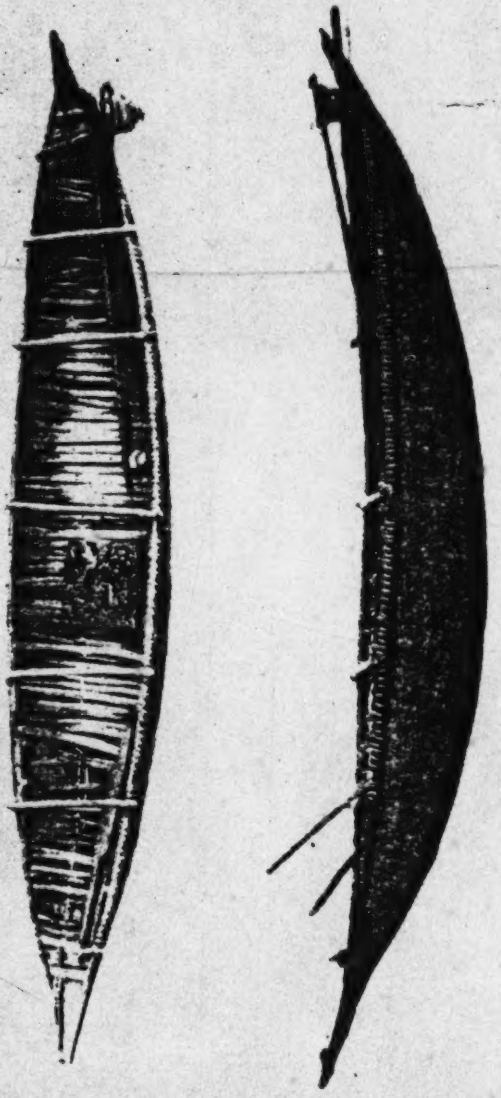

PLATE 34.—Yahgan bark canoe. Model. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 72.)

[P. 160 B]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH 6

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[p. 160 c]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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Plate 31.—Bolas-sphere throwing. Typical posture. (After Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 1.)

[p. 160 D]

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Ona SH4

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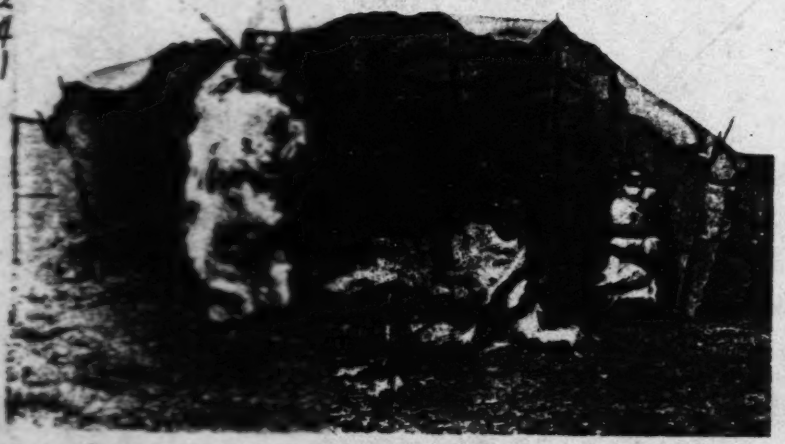

Plate II.—Ona and Tehuelche shelters. Top: Model of Tehuelche hide. Bottom: Model of Ona wind shelter. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[P. 160 E]

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Ona SH 4

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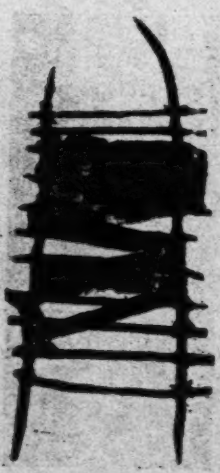

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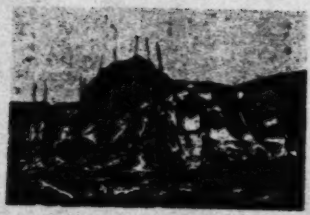

PLATE 38.—Ona and Tehuelche subjects. *Top* (*left*): Ona man. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 122.) *Top* (*right*): Ona man, painted for Kwekuni dance, an all-day successive interlude during Klóketen rite. No masks are worn in this dance and women take part. (After Gusinde, 1931 b, fig. 2.) *Bottom* (*left*): Ona cradle, length 90 in., or 78.5 cm. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 18.) *Bottom* (*right*): Tehuelche toldo, Province of Santa Cruz. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 114.)

[p. 160 F]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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PLATE II.—Tehuelche costume and ornament. *Top:* Clothing and adornment. (After d'Orbigny, 1847, costume, No. 1.) *Bottom:* Girls' puberty rite (dress held by Indian). (After Musters, 1871, opposite page 172.)

[p. 160 G]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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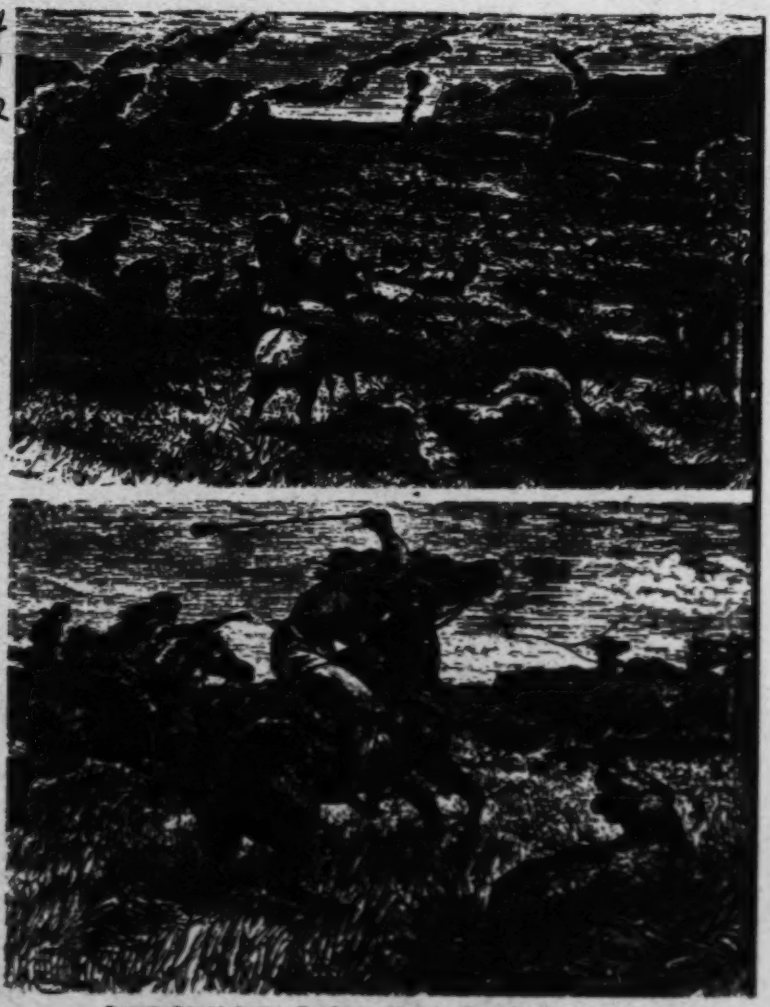

PLATE 61.—Tehuelche hunting. *Top*: Ceremonial hunt, in valley of Río Chico. (After Musters, 1871, opposite page 91.) *Bottom*: Dismounted hunt. "Il est blessé à mort." (After Moreau, 1871, frontispiece.)

[p. 160 H]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya
Puelche SE 10

T 771 **Religion.**—Of *Poya* religion we are merely told that there was a belief in a superior being called Chahuelli or Chechuelli (Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519), who could do good or evil to people. Olivares compares him (and/or it) to the *Araucanian* huecubu (1874, T p. 511).

757 **Curing.**—Bloodletting was medicinally practiced.

PUELCHE CULTURE

Pu 114 The bulk of our information on *Puelche* culture is derived from Sánchez Labrador (1936), Falkner (1774), and D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:221–223, and esp. 2:266–272). If and how far the description by Ovalle (1888, pp. 178–179) of "*Pampa*" culture refers to the *Puelche* is doubtful. Very frequently Sánchez Labrador and Falkner, especially the latter, give rather detailed cultural data for tribes of the Pampa and vicinity in general, without specifying any particular tribe, *Puelche* or other. D'Orbigny clearly distinguishes between *Puelche* and others, but gives few details on *Puelchean* culture, dismissing, for instance, practically the whole of material and social culture with the statement that *Puelche* culture was in these phases like *Tehuelche* and Argentine *Araucanian*. In the following account we shall confine ourselves to those data that can clearly or with reasonable probability be assigned to the *Puelche* as such—not an easy task, since by D'Orbigny's time and even Sánchez Labrador's and Falkner's time great acculturation with *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* culture had taken place.

Pu 197 If Lehmann-Nitsche's theory of a fourth Pampean language, the *Het* family, spoken, he believed, by Falkner's *Chechehet* of the southern Buenos Aires Province region, and by some of the *Diuihet*, should turn out to be fully validated, then it would be imperative to draw a distinction between the culture of the *Het* peoples and that of the *Puelche*. Lehmann-Nitsche, for example, considered that gualichu, the name for the evil spirit(s), was of *Het* provenance. At present, however, even though we accept the *Het* hypothesis, there is very little of Pampean culture that can be assigned specifically to the *Chechehet* or *Het*-speaking peoples. In the following summary of *Puelche* culture, only at a point here and there will the possibility be considered that a given cultural trait assigned to the *Puelche* may actually have been *Het* instead. This approach is not all that might be desired, but appears to be the most satisfactory one under present limitations of space and knowledge.

Pu 101 Scattered through the early Chilean sources, such as Rosales and the Proceso Criminal de 1638, are certain sparse data on the culture of the nomadic hunting peoples living at the time in Pampean territory, often called in these sources by the generic geographic name of

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Puelche SI 10

"*Puelche*," and sometimes hunting in territory that around the middle of the 18th century may have been true *Puelche* country. In general the relation of these "*Puelche*" of the early Chilean sources to our modern *Puelche* is difficult to determine; at best we get a reasonable surmise in some cases as to identity, more frequently not even that. It seems best, therefore, to omit most of these Chilean data.

The culture of the *Querandí*, who may well have been *Puelche*, is treated elsewhere in this volume (pp. 180–183).

All cultural attributions in the following account refer to the later *Puelche*, that is, from the middle 18th century on. Prior to that date *Puelche* culture is for all practical purposes a complete blank, or, even if we use the Chilean data, a nearly complete one.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Food.—In the middle 18th century, the staple food of the *Puelche* was horse meat. When meat was abundant, only the ribs, loins, and shoulder would be eaten. Grease and fat were especially appreciated. Lice were eaten. Among the *Puelche* met by D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:101) fishing was not practiced.

The *Puelche* had no agriculture, and originally no domestic animals, except the dog. They must have acquired the horse somewhere around the early 18th century; it is unlikely that they had it earlier.

Hunting weapons.—Wild horses were hunted with bolas and lasso in Sánchez Labrador's time (1936, p. 34). D'Orbigny's *Puelche* also used the bow and arrow, and the lance—the latter in fighting, the former probably both for hunting and for fighting (1835–47, 2:223; 4:196). The *Puelche* known to Musters (1872, p. 20) were experts in the use of the sling.

DWELLINGS

Huts were of horse skin on a wooden framework of thick poles. The ground plan was quadrangular. The roofing was of many skins sewn together with horse sinew, and put up with the hair outside. There were two doors, to east and west, or to north and south respectively (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 37–38). *Puelche* huts were, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:209), just like those of the *Tehuelche*.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing.—The common people, both men and women, wore square mantels of horse skin, scraped, softened, and painted, with the hair left on. Prominent individuals used mantles of guanaco, fox, or otter skin. The men wore as a pubic covering a triangular piece of horsehide about 8 inches (20 cm.) each side, attached to the waist

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with thongs, a third thong passing between the legs and tied to the other two; the women, an apron hanging from the waist to the knees. In warm weather the mantle was left off (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 35–36). The *Puelche* of the Río Negro in D'Orbigny's time dressed like the *Tehuelche* (1935–47, 2:269).

Adornment.—Facial depilation and body painting in various colors were customary. No deformation or mutilation of any kind is recorded, not even ear piercing; nor is tattooing. To what extent the various personal adornments of women and girls, as listed by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 36–37), were of *Araucanian* or other introduction, cannot be determined. The feasting and weeping at hair cutting (ibid. pp. 76–77) may also be of non-*Puelche* origin. Río Negro *Puelche* adornment as observed by D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:269) was like *Tehuelche*.

TRANSPORTATION

No type of watercraft is reported for the *Puelche*. On horseback, the women sat, not on a saddle, but on a high blanket-covered seat.

MANUFACTURES

No basketry is recorded, and no pottery making. In Sánchez Labrador's day, the *Puelche* women did no weaving; woven ponchos and mantles were bought from the Argentine *Araucanians* by the *Puelche* to trade with the Spanish (1936, p. 40); but they were beginning to learn weaving in D'Orbigny's time (1835–47, 2:269; 4:223).

Flint knives and hafted flint scrapers were used.

Weapons included bolas, lassos, bows and arrows, lances, and slings (p. 162); armor was also used (p. 164).

SOCIAL LIFE

The *Puelche* had no sibs, no secret or other societies, no marked social stratification, no ruling caste. The points mentioned infra under Marriage and Family, viz, preference for marrying children of headmen to children of headmen, and the holding of captive "slaves," indicate rudimentary stratification.

Marriage and family.—The bride-price, consisting of objects of considerable value, was given over to the bride's people, and distributed among them according to degree of kinship. The bride was then brought to the groom's tent. Monogamy was the general rule, except for headmen who would have two or three wives; one chief, the famous Cacique Bravo (Cangapol), had seven (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 71–73). Sometimes a man married his brother's widow (Camaño, 1937, p. 115), but there does not seem to have been any mandatory levirate. Headmen liked to marry their daughters into the families of other headmen.

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of other headmen. Divorce was uncommon; its occurrence was mostly among newly-wed couples. According to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 270), adultery was punishable with death, but could be compounded by payments; there were many concubine slaves taken from enemies. (Details on marriage in Falkner (1774, pp. 124–127) refer no doubt in part to the *Puelche*, but here, as in most other sections of his treatment of culture, he does not distinguish sufficiently to permit confident use of his data as applicable to *Puelche* culture.)

Etiquette.—Nothing is specifically known. The Indians of the Pampa like those of Patagonia used to bathe in the river or lake of mornings before sunrise (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 49).

POLITICAL LIFE

The band.—The *Puelche* appear to have been broken up into relatively small bands, each with its own headman. The five bands who in Cardiel's time (1922, p. 63) made up the *Puelche* as known to him totaled in all only 100 to 120 warriors—probably about 100 to 120 persons per band. The headmen had to be good orators and good warriors; they had no authority to command the members of their band. There was no paramount chieftain for peacetimes.

Warfare and disputes.—Warfare was the common thing. The lance, sometimes thrown when the enemy was out of thrusting reach (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 45; cf. Azara, 1809, 2: 46), was the chosen weapon; the bolas were also important in warfare; few used the bow and arrow in the middle 18th century, as it was considered cowardly to do so (ibid., p. 46). Hide coats and helmets served as defense arms. Face and body were painted on war expeditions.

Within the tribe conflicts were settled by private action, without intervention of the headman.

Mercy killing by premature interment in cases of hopeless illness was practiced. Cannibalism is not reported.

The peoples of the higher Andean Cordillera and the trans-Andine plains were persistently reported by the early Chilean writers to have used poisoned arrows (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 6, 96; Rosales [1674], 1877–78, 1: 239). But whether these reports are fully dependable and whether they concern the ancestors of our *Puelche* are points that cannot be decided with confidence. (Cf. discussion by McClafferty, 1932, pp. 41–42.)

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Practically nothing is known of economic culture. Active trade was carried on with other tribes and with the Spaniards. Food was generously shared, but the giver of one day would be the receiver of other days. The "concubine slaves" mentioned by D'Orbigny

The "concubine slaves" mentioned by D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270) may have represented drudges or adopted wives or a combination of both; he gives no details. §67

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—After delivery, the mother bathed in a lake or stream. The medicine man was called in to massage and breathe on the newly born child in order to give it strength. The couvade obtained in very full but simple form: When the child was born, the father took to his bed—for how long, Sánchez Labrador does not say, nor does he give further details (1936, p. 73). D'Orbigny merely states (1835–47, 2:270) that birth observances were nearly the same as among the Argentine *Araucanians*. §44 §46

Puberty rites.—There is no mention of a boys' initiation rite. Sánchez Labrador, however, gives (1936, pp. 67–71) rather minute details on the Elel first menses rite which, he states, was observed by the *Puelche* and *Tehuelche*, but not by the other Pampean (*Araucanian*) peoples. The *Araucanians* of Chile, as distinct from those east of the Andes, had no girls' puberty rite, so far as we know. The *Tehuelche* first menses rite, as described by Musters, D'Orbigny, and Peña, has little in common with the rite which Sánchez Labrador describes. There is, however, a definite though only fractional resemblance between the Elel rite and the rite of the "Pampean Indians" [including the *Tehuelche!*] as Muñiz records it. (Cf. supra, p. 138.) There is thus ground for suspecting that the Elel rite in its specific characters is not an original *Tehuelche* one, that the Muñiz instance may represent an intrusion into *Tehuelche* culture from a foreign center, and that the Elel rite is the native "*Pampa*" form, presumably the native *Puelche* one. §81 [71]

At the first two menses of the daughter or other relative of a headman, a large tolde covered with painted horsehides was erected, and decorated lances stuck upright around and within it. With a drum formed of a brass pot, the people were summoned. One of the older and most respected men made a speech, at the end of which he appointed one of the most valiant Indians to play the part of Elel, the chief of the evil [!] spirits, as Sánchez Labrador calls this being. The Indian took flight but was pursued and retrieved. He was clothed in a special decorated mantle and a feather headdress, his face was painted in various colors, and he was assigned six young unmarried fellows as pages and guardians. Behind the large tent another was put up in which four old hags stayed day and night, keeping up a continuous wailing. Still another tent served as kitchen. [34] [292]

Throughout the three weeks or month of the rite, the girl remained hidden in the large tent, only going out alone to seek roots and fruits ("frutillas" [strawberries!]) on the Pampa. Both she and Elel fasted

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881 Both she and Elel fasted
[573] rigorously, although he was allowed to drink plenty of fermented chicha. Elel had authority to command any one to do his bidding. No one spoke to him directly, but only through his pages. Toward the end he got angry (or pretended to), and bade the people gash themselves, and he would beat them; those beaten considered it an honor. He would give orders to capture individuals and then demand [535] a ransom. There were sports, and a dance by nude Indians decorated with feathers and two horns on their heads and with a tail behind.

Finally Elel escaped, and ate his full, while the others had to fast 6 days on only roots and fruits; if they did not, Elel would castigate them. So ended the Elel rite. (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 67–71.)

861 This same being, Elel, entered also into the native educational system, apart from the first menses rite. Once or twice a year, the headman would order one of the young unmarried men to dress up as Elel with tiger skins and with painted face, and to go around to all tents and make as if to snatch away the young boys. These would flee to their mothers for protection. Parents did not punish their children, but if the latter were bad or would cry too much, they would be threatened with Elel, and the parents would tell them they would not defend them when he came for them (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 74).

764 **Death observances.**—Our chief sources are Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 41, 80, 56–63), Falkner (1774, pp. 118–120), and D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 270; 4: 112, 223); and for comparison, Rosales (1877–78, 2: 96) on burial customs in the Cuyo province. D'Orbigny gives only the most meager details; Sánchez Labrador and Falkner give considerable information, but only in certain points specify what is peculiar to the *Puelche*. Furthermore, it looks as if even as early as the middle of the 18th century there had occurred a great deal of acculturation with *Araucanian* burial customs.

Disposal of the dead.—The favorite *Puelche* burial was probably that in caves in the hills, the body deeply flexed, knees to face, and enveloped in the mantle. The personal property, such as weapons and adornments, of the deceased person was buried with him; his horses and dogs were killed; his hut was burnt to the ground. If death occurred far from the mountains, the body might be disposed of on the plains. In some cases at least, it seems that if death occurred far off from the hills, the flesh was stripped from the bones and the bones transported thither later. Bone stripping also occurred among the Cuyo Province Indians of the 17th century, according to Rosales: On the first anniversary after death, the bones of the deceased were disinterred, and after the flesh was stripped off them, they were painted yellow and other colors, were carried around in saddle bags

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on a horse from camp to camp, and were deposited in a special hut at each camp (Rosales, 1877–78, 2:98; cf. Vignati, 1937 a, on polychrome painting of archeological crania in southwest Buenos Aires Province). Whether secondary burial was part of earlier uninfluenced *Pueloche* culture, cannot well be determined. 764

Pouring some of the first chicha of the year on the bones of the dead, a custom reported for the *Pueloche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 63), was perhaps of non-*Pueloche* origin. The *Pueloche* did not cremate.

[illegible] AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

A kettledrum was used, and clothing was painted. We lack, however, detailed data on esthetic culture that can be with confidence attributed to the *Pueloche*. 534

Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 39–43, 46–49) mentions the following items as characteristic of the Pampa Indians in general: Target shooting with toy bolas as boys' play; dolls, jacks, and hop-scotch as girls' play; a ball game resembling *Araucanian* pilluna as men's play; a simple football game as women's play; heavy gambling with dice and cards, introduced by Spanish captives, indulged in by men, and gambling with dice, at least, by women too; use of the native chicha from algarroba beans or from apples, and of spirituous liquors acquired from the Spanish, with a great deal of intoxication. Presumably, the *Pueloche* would be included in these generalizations. If so, non-*Pueloche* influence is obvious in some of the items. Whether the early *Pueloche* had a native intoxicant of their own is not clear. 857 526 524 273

[illegible]

Sánchez Labrador and Falkner have given us considerable information on religion and shamanism among the tribes of the Pampa, but very little of this information can with confidence be specifically attributed to the *Pueloche*. 114

According to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), the *Pueloche* of his day believed in a beneficent being who gave them all they desired without their praying for it, and also in an evil spirit called Gualichu or Arrahun who sent sickness and death. Hunziker (1928 b, p. 276) includes in his *Pueloche* vocabulary Atgenual as meaning "el Gran Espíritu"; Hale (1846, pp. 854, 856), Anau-kanitan and Siés, "God," and Anau-kaitan, "evil spirit"; Milanesio (1896, p. 29; 1917, opp. p. 6), Tukutmal, "God." 776

As for the *Pueloche* of the middle 18th century, Sánchez Labrador states (1936, pp. 64, 66) that they had no belief in God, but that they did believe in an evil being or beings, Balichu, and in a prince of them called Elel, who caused all sickness, death, tempests, and so forth; Falkner (1774, p. 114) states in a general way that "these

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND IDEATION

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For bibliographic references, see pages 128–129.